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Message Text

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DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:JPLORENZ/ATP
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EA/K:EHURWITZ
IO:SWLEWIS
S/S:SESTEINER
EUR:AAHARTMAN
S:R.AHERNE
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O 181949Z SEP 76 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 231670 TOSEC 270357

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, CY

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: GREEK/TURKISH CONTROVERSY
OVER ALLOCATION OF THE CYPRUS ITEM AT THE UNGA

TO SECRETARY THROUGH HABIB FROM IO-LEWIS AND EUR-HARTMAN

1. THE PROBLEM:

THE TURKS AND GREEKS HAVE SOUGHT OUR SUPPORT FOR THEIR CONFLICTING POSITIONS ON WHAT APPEARS TO BE A MINOR PROCEDURAL QUESTION, BUT WHICH IS IN FACT OF SUBSTANTIAL IMPORTANCE TO TH- CYPRUS PARTIES. THE ISSUE IS WHETHER CYPRUS SHOULD BE DEBATED SOLELY IN THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SPC), THEREBY GIVING DENKTASH STATUS EQUAL TO THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT DELEGATION, OR WHETHER THE DEBATE SHOULD BE IN BOTH PLENARY AND SPC AS HAS BEEN THE PRACTICE THE PAST TWO YEARS SUPPORT OF THE TURKISH POSITION WOULD OF COURSE ANGER THE
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GREEKS AND GREEK CYPRIOTS. WE NEED YOUR DECISION BY SEPT.

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21 SINCE OUR DELEGATION MUST VOTE ON THE MATTER IN THE
GENERAL COMMITTEE SEPT. 22 OR 23.

2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS:

THE TURKISH AMBASSADORS IN WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK HAVE
MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO SCRANTON,HABIB AND HARTMAN, ASK-
ING THAT THE US SUPPORT ALLOCATION OF THE CYPRUS ITEM TO
SPC. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GREEK AND CYPRIOT AMBASSADORS
TO THE UN HAVE ASKED US TO VOTE IN GENERAL COMMITTEE FOR
THE PRACTICE THAT HAS OBTAINED SINCE THE 1974 TURKISH IN-
VASION. THIS PRACTICE ENTAILS INITIAL DEBATE IN PLENARY,
IN WHICH THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT DELEGATION ALONE SPEAKS FOR
CYPRUS AND THE TURKISH COMMUNITY DOES NOT TAKE PART,
FOLLOWED BY ONE OR TWO DAYS' DEBATE IN SPC TO ALLOW REPRE-
SENTATIVES OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES ALSO TO PARTICIPATE.
(WHICHEVER PRACTICE IS FOLLOWED, MAKARIOS WOULD HAVE THE
OPTION OF ADDRESSING PLENARY AS A HEAD OF STATE ALTHOUGH
OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF THE ITEM.)

THE TURKISH ARGUMENT IS BASED MAINLY ON THEIR CONTENTION
THAT THE TWO COMMUNITIES ARE EQUAL AND THEIR REPRESEN-
TATIVES SHOULD BE ACCORDED EQUAL TIME AND STATUS IN THE
CONTEXT OF ANY DEBATE ON A CYPRUS ITEM. THE TURKS ALSO
MAINTAIN THAT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WOULD BENEFIT FROM
A UN DECISION TO HOLD THE DEBATE IN SPC ONLY. CONVERSELY
THE GREEKS ARGUE THAT SUCH A DECISION WOULD HARM THE
CYPRUS TALKS.

THE TURKS CONTEND THAT PLENARY IS NO LONGER THE APPRO-
PRIATE FORUM BECAUSE THE CYPRUS QUESTION IS LESS IMPORTAN
NOW THAN TWO YEARS AGO AND SHOULD BE HANDLED IN A MORE
ROUTINE MANNER. THEIR REAL PROBLEM IS THAT DENKTASH IS
EVER MORE INSISTENT ON PREROGATIVES EQUAL TO THOSE OF A
REPRESENTATIVE OF A STATE.

THE MERITS OF THE TWO SIDES' ARGUMENTS ARE FINELY BALANCE
SINCE WE OPPOSE HEARING IN PLENARY REPRESENTATIVES OF
ENTITIES OTHER THAN STATES, THERE IS A CASE TO BE MADE FO
ALLOCATING THE ENTIRE DEBATE TO COMMITTEE WHEREBY DENKTAS
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COULD PARTICIPATE EQUALLY. THE CYPRIOTS ARGUE THAT
GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD NOT BE PUT ON SAME PLAN
AS A COMMUNAL LEADER. OVERALL UN PRACTICE IN THE PAST
WOULD FAVOR THE TURKISH CASE, BUT THE CYPRUS ITEM HAS BEE
HANDLED FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS UNDER THE PLENARY/SPC
PROCEDURE DEVISED TO DEAL WITH EXACTLY THIS PROBLEM.

WE BELIEVE THERE IS ONLY A SLIM CHANCE THAT THE 25 MEMBER

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GENERAL COMMITTEE OR THE FULL ASSEMBLY WILL ADOPT THE TURKISH PROPOSAL, ALTHOUGH TURKEY CLAIMS THE CONTRARY. (TURKEY IS A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE, BUT GREECE AND CYPRUS ARE NOT.) HOWEVER, THE UK, FRG AND JAPAN WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY SUPPORT THE TURKS IF WE DO (AND PERHAPS EVEN IF WE DO NOT), AND TURKEY CLAIMS THREE MOSLEM VOTES

AND ONE OR TWO OTHERS ON THE GENERAL COMMITTEE. IF THE TURKS RAISE THE ISSUE BEFORE THE FULL ASSEMBLY, WE ESTIMATE THAT EVEN IF THEY OBTAIN THE VOTES OF MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE GROUP, THEY STILL WILL BE DEFEATED.

A GESTURE OF SUPPORT FOR TURKEY COULD CONCEIVABLY PROMOTE PROGRESS IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS SINCE THE TURKS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT EQUAL TREATMENT FOR DENKTASH IS A PRECONDITION TO GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON THEIR PART. WE CAN EXPECT STRONG CYPRIOT AND POSSIBLY SOME GREEK REACTION, BUT WE THINK IT SHOULD BE MANAGEABLE.

THERE IS ANOTHER FACTOR WHICH ARGUES FOR VOTING WITH TURKEY. WE NEED TURKEY'S ACTIVE SUPPORT ON ANOTHER GENERA COMMITTEE ISSUE THAT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US: DEFER-MENT OF THE KOREAN ITEM TO NEXT YEAR. IF WE DECIDE TO SUPPORT THE TURKISH POSITION, IT WOULD BE NATURAL TO ASK FOR TURKEY'S HELP ON KOREAN DEFERMENT ONCE THAT PROPOSAL SURFACES. WE THINK WE SHOULD ALSO INFORM THE TURKS THAT IN SUPPORTING THEIR CYPRUS PROCEDURAL POSITION, WE EXPECT THEY WILL TAKE NO IRREVERSIBLE ACTION ON CYPRUS IN THE NEA FUTURE SUCH AS UDI.

3. RECOMMENDATION:

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THAT WE SUPPORT TURKEY IN GENERAL COMMITTEE AND PLENARY, ASSUMING WE ARE JOINED BY SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

IN ADDITION, THAT WE ASK TURKEY TO SUPPORT KOREAN DEFERMEN IN THE GENERAL COMMITTEE AND IN PLENARY AND ALSO MENTION OUR CONCERN REGARDING UDI.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

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ALTERNATIVELY, THAT WE ABSTAIN ON THE ISSUE IN GENERAL
COMMITTEE AND PLENARY.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE
WE DO NOT RECOMMEND VOTING AGAINST THE TURKISH PROPOSAL.

DRAFTED BY:IO/UNP:JPLORENZ
APPROVED BY: PHILIP C. HABIB

CLEARANCES: EA/K:EHURWITZ;IO:SWLEWIS; EUR:AAHARTMAN; S/S
S: RAHERNE

ROBINSON

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